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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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7 June 1982

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 306

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CADRES URGED TO ADHERE TO MASS LINE IN PARTY WORK

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 15 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Liang Rongde [6647 2837 1795], secretary, CCP Central Shanxi Regional Committee: "Adherence to the Mass Line Is Guarantee for Realization of the 'Two Civilizations'"]

[Text] The mass line is our party's fine tradition and workstyle and also a guarantee for the accomplishment of our party's cause. When we are situated in such an important historical period of returning to order from disorder and advancing from poverty to prosperity, adherence to the mass line appears even more important if we wish to insure a stable rate of development in our economy and a decisive turn for the better in our social order and security, social customs and party workstyle.

In adhering to the party's mass line, we should first of all establish the fundamental point of view of Marxism that the masses are the real masters. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly taught us: "The masses are the real heroes"; "The people have boundless creative power, they can march toward all places and departments where they are in a position to demonstrate their power; they can march toward all depths and breadths of production, and create for themselves more and more welfare enterprises." In the face of heavy tasks, some comrades tend to lose confidence; a fundamental reason in this regard is that there is no place for the masses in their eyes. If our comrades who shoulder leadership tasks can constantly keep in mind the history of revolutionary struggle of our party and state during the past 60 years and keep in sight the power of the 39 million communists and more than 900 million masses of the people, they are bound to have full confidence and for them there will be no difficulties that cannot be overcome.

Second, we should make clear that the task of the party is to wholeheartedly serve the people. Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out: After the victory of the revolution, the people are the masters of our state and society. The most essential content of the party's leadership in the life of the state is to organize and support the people as masters of the house and build a new socialist life. Proceeding from our national situation, the party Central Committee has suggested that we constantly keep in mind the 800 million peasants and undertake to operate things well for them. This is a major

strategic policy which holds high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought; to understand the great significance of this policy and endeavor to realize it is especially important for our comrades who work in the countryside on a long-range basis. What is the greatest thing to do well? To make a go of the "two civilizations" and enable the vast ranks of the peasants to have a good material and spiritual life; this is the greatest thing to do well. After becoming the political masters of the house, the vast ranks of our peasants strongly demand to live an affluent life. In order to work in the interest of the peasants, we must firmly carry out the party's various policies in a relevant way by applying this golden key so as to open for the peasants the door leading to the road of affluence. If we cry about serving the people daily without trying to help the peasant to become rich, then we have not yet grasped the fundamental task and hence are not yet in accord with the wishes of the vast ranks of the peasants. Along with the peasants' gradual advancement toward an abundant life, we must also endeavor to satisfy their increasing needs in material and cultural life. This requires us to grasp material civilization on the one hand, and spiritual civilization on the other hand. If every communist, every cadre, every unit, and every department can take as the point of departure as well as the destination of their work the intention to serve the interests of the masses, then we are definitely able to lead the masses to realize the "four modernizations."

Third, we must closely link ourselves with the masses. During the 10 years of turmoil, the relations between the party and the masses were subject to serious sabotage. The masses said that the fish-water relationship of the past had become an oil-water relationship. This statement is very poignant and profound and merits the profound reflection of every party member and cadre. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party's workstyle in closely linking itself with the masses has been once more restored somewhat; but a gap remains when it is compared to the period of revolutionary war; hence there is a great need to place emphasis in this regard. We must strike sharply those cadres who lack revolutionary zeal, who claim credit for themselves and become arrogant, and who seek only pleasure, comfort and privileges in a selfish manner, in order to make them understand that if they separate themselves from the masses, strike the posture of an official-lord instead of a "public servant," then one day they are bound to be cast off by the masses. They must clearly understand that, no matter how high the office, how great the seniority, or how talented, we can enjoy the support of the masses only if we put down roots among the masses, breathe with them and share weal and woe with them.

How can we better adhere to the mass line?

In adhering to the mass line, we must wholeheartedly believe that the masses liberated themselves; we cannot look upon ourselves as heroes while treating the masses as "weaklings." Without the genuine consciousness of the masses, not a single good thing can be accomplished no matter how good it is. In undertaking whatever work, when the masses still have not become conscious, our responsibility is to guide them by all effective and appropriate means. Once the masses achieve the appropriate degree of consciousness, we must direct the masses in time to take action according to the party's policy. We

must carefully analyze the particular situations in various places, and link the central principles and policies and the directives and requirements of the superior level with the actualities of the given locality. We must never adopt simplistic, rigid, commanding approaches to force the masses to accept them. In the past, we had a very painful experience in the learning-from-Dachai operations; we should earnestly remember this. There are also comrades who seek to uncover mistakes and defects and seize people's bad examples as soon as they get somewhere, to negate all of their past, to criticize, reproach, or even carry out struggles in order to promote their work, while they neglect to look at the good things there, are not good at seeking out positive factors, or encouraging the comrades engaged in enthusiastic work, and therefore end up alienating the local cadres and masses. This kind of approach must be changed. In trying to serve the people, we are supposed to be responsible to the people, to help the people achieve some benefit objectively because of our service. Conditions at the basic level are diverse; if certain views, prescriptions, and requirements issued by the superior level cannot be carried out in certain localities or units, or defects and mistakes thereof are discovered, we should, in the spirit of being responsible to the people, make suggestions to the superior level and not take a perfunctory attitude; otherwise, we would fail to be responsible to the people, and that would also constitute a failure to be responsible to the superior level.

In adhering to the mass line, we must have the attitude of being willing to be a pupil and to learn humbly from the masses of the people. In order to serve the people, apart from the necessity of having revolutionary enthusiasm and spirit, we must likewise have sufficient knowledge and rich experience. It is of course important to learn from books, but it is just as important to learn from the masses of the people. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: We must first learn from the masses and then teach them; be a student first, and then a teacher. If you don't understand the responsibility system, science, or scientific management, you should learn from the masses, and then concentrate the experiences of the masses, systematize them, and thereby guide the action of the masses through them. Without this approach, no work can be done well. Of course, this is not to suggest that we can therefore relax our work on ideological education among the masses. It is also a mistake to put learning from the masses in opposition to educating the masses.

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CSO: 4005/784

PARTY AND STATE

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON STATE COUNCIL OFFICIALS

HK060912 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 May 82 p 4

[Report: "Brief Biographies of the Secretary General of the State Council and Some Ministries and Commissions"--slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] /Du Xingyuan/ [2629 2505 0997] (Secretary general of the State Council): Male, 68, Han nationality, native of Xiapu County, Fujian Province; served as director of the Industrial Department and deputy secretary of the Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee; director, assistant minister and vice minister of the first and second Ministries of Machine-Building Industry; vice minister of the State Economic Commission; vice minister of water conservancy and electric power; secretary of the Sichuan Provincial CCP Committee; vice chairman of the Sichuan Provincial Revolutionary Committee; first deputy secretary general of the State Council; secretary general of the central financial and economic leading group.

/Yang Jingren/ [2799 7234 0088] (Minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission): Male, 64, Hui nationality, native of Lanzhou City, Gansu Province; served as vice minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission; secretary and first secretary of the Ningxia Regional CCP Committee; chairman of the Ningxia Regional CPPCC; secretary of the Secretariat of the Northwest China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee; deputy director of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee; vice chairman of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee; vice premier of the State Council.

/Zhao Cangbi/ [6392 5547 3880] (Minister of Public Security): Male, 66, Han nationality, native of Qingjian County, Shaanxi Province; served as chief of the third section of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau; deputy director of the Nanjing Municipal Public Security Bureau; deputy director of the Southwest China Public Security Department and concurrently president of the Southwest China Public Security Institute; Standing Committee member and secretary of the Sichuan Provincial CCP Committee; vice governor of Sichuan and director of the Public Security Department of Sichuan Province.

/Cui Naifu/ [1508 0035 1133] (Minister of Civil Administration): Male, 53, Han nationality, native of Shahe Town, Beijing Municipality; served as director of the Propaganda Department and dean of studies of Lanzhou

University and vice chairman of the Lanzhou University Revolutionary Committee; responsible person of the Political Department and vice minister of the Ministry of Civil Administration.

/Liu Fuzhi/ [0491 1788 0037] (Minister of Justice): Male, 65, Han nationality, native of Mei County, Guangdong Province; served as director of the general office and vice minister of the Ministry of Public Security; vice minister of culture; now serving as deputy director of the Legal Commission of the NPC Standing Committee and secretary general of the Central Political and Law Commission.

/Wang Bingqian/ [3769 0014 0051] (Minister of Finance): Male, 57, Han nationality, native of Li County, Hebei Province; served as deputy chief of the North China Finance Department; chief of the comprehensive planning section, director of the Budget Department and vice minister of the Ministry of Finance.

/Lu Peijian/ [0712 1014 0313] (President of the People's Bank of China): Male, 54, Han nationality, native of Hongze County, Jiangsu Province; served as group leader and deputy section chief of the North China Finance Department; deputy section chief, chief, deputy department head, department head and deputy director of the general office, deputy director of the Industry, Communications, Commerce and Finance Department and vice minister of the Ministry of Finance.

/Lin Hujia/ [2651 0039 0502] (Minister of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fishery): Male, 66, Han nationality, native of Changdao County, Shandong Province; served as head of the Propaganda Department, secretary general and secretary of the Secretariat of the Zhejiang Provincial CCP Committee; vice minister of the State Planning Commission; secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee; first secretary of the Tianjin Municipal CCP Committee and mayor of Tianjin; first secretary of the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee, mayor of Beijing and first political commissar of the Beijing Garrison Command; minister of agriculture.

/Yang Zhong/ [2799 6988] (Minister of Forestry): Male, 50, Han nationality, native of Xichong County, Sichuan Province; served as secretary of the Guangan County CCP Committee; acting first secretary of the Wusheng County CCP Committee and first political commissar of the Department of the People's Arms, Wusheng County; secretary of the Guangan County CCP Committee and first political commissar of the Department of the People's Arms, Guangan County; vice governor of Sichuan Province.

/Li Ximing/ [2621 6932 6900] (Minister of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection): Male, 56, Han nationality, native of Shulu County, Hebei Province; served as secretary of the Shijingshan Power Plant CCP Committee; vice minister of water conservancy and electric power; vice minister of electric power industry.

/Sun Daguang/ [1327 1129 0342] (Minister of Geology and Minerals): Male, 65, Han nationality, native of Shou County, Anhui Province; served as president of Dalian Maritime Transport Institute, director of the Planning

Department, assistant minister and vice minister of the Ministry of Communications; minister of geology.

/Li Dongye/ [2621 2639 0396] (Minister of Metallurgical Industry): Male, 64, Han nationality, native of Pinglu County, Shanxi Province; served as secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee; first secretary of the Anshan Municipal CCP Committee and concurrently secretary of the Anshan Steel Corporation CCP Committee; vice minister of metallurgical industry.

/Zhou Jiannan/ [0719 1696 0589] (Minister of Machine-Building Industry): Male, 65, Han nationality, native of Yixin County, Jiangsu Province; served as director, assistant minister and vice minister of the First Ministry of Machine-Building Industry; vice minister of the Administrative Commission on Import and Export Affairs.

/Zhang Chen/ [1728 1820] (Minister of Nuclear Industry): Female, 64, Han nationality, native of Xinan County, Henan Province; served as director of the Organization Department of the Wuhan Municipal Enterprise CCP Committee; deputy director of the Tianjin No 2 cotton mill; vice chairman of the Shenyang Municipal Planning Commission; deputy director of the 13th bureau and director of the 1st bureau of the Second Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.

/Mo Wenxiang/ [5459 2429 4382] (Minister of Aviation Industry): Male, 59, Han nationality, Xiajin County, Shandong Province; served as director of the Second Industrial Department of the Shenyang Municipal CCP Committee; secretary of the Shenyang Municipal CCP Committee and vice chairman of the Shenyang Municipal Revolutionary Committee; vice minister and minister of the Third Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.

/Zhang Ting/ [1728 2185] (Minister of Electronics Industry): Male, 59, Han nationality, native of Xin County, Shanxi Province; served as deputy director of the Planning Department of the First Ministry of Machine-Building Industry; deputy director of the Planning Department of the Third Ministry of Machine-Building Industry; director of the Planning Bureau and vice minister of the Fourth Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.

/Yu Yi/ [0060 0001] (Minister of Arms Industry): Male, 57, Han nationality, native of Ye County, Shandong Province; served as deputy director of Jiangbei machine-building factory of Jilin; chief engineer, director and secretary of Jianhua machine-building factory of Qiqihar; deputy director of the Department of National Defense Industry of Heilongjiang Province; vice minister of the Fifth Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.

/Zhang Jun/ [1728 6874] (Minister of Spaceflight Industry): Male, 63, Han nationality, native of Shouguang County, Shandong Province; served as second political commissar of the Public Security Corps of the Kunming PLA units; deputy political commissar of the Yunnan Provincial Military District; secretary of the CCP Committee of No 1 compound [Yi Yuan 0001 7108] and vice minister of the Seventh Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.



/Tang Ke/ [0781 0344] (Minister of Petroleum Industry): Male, 64, Han nationality, native of Yancheng County, Jiangsu Province; served as deputy director of the General Bureau of Petroleum of the Ministry of Fuel Industry; deputy director of the general office, director of the Prospecting Department and vice minister of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry; vice minister of fuel and chemical industry; vice minister of petrochemical industry; vice minister and minister of metallurgical industry.

/Yang Bo/ [2799 3134] (Minister of Light Industry): Male, 61, Han nationality, native of Rongcheng County, Shandong Province; served as director of the Research Office and director of the Comprehensive Department of the State Statistics Bureau; deputy director and director of the Shandong Provincial Statistics Commission; vice chairman of the Shandong Provincial Revolutionary Committee; vice minister of the State Statistics Commission; vice minister of the State Energy Commission.

/Chen Puru/ [7115 3877 1172] (Minister of Railways): Male, 64, Han nationality, native of Boxin County, Shandong Province; served as secretary of the Huxi Prefectural CCP Committee in the Hebei-Shandong-Henan border area; secretary of the Fuliang Prefectural CCP Committee and concurrently secretary of the Jingdezhen Municipal CCP Committee, Jiangxi Province; secretary of the Zunyi Prefectural CCP Committee, Guizhou Province; director of the Industry and Commerce Department and director of the Planning Commission of Guizhou Province; secretary of the Secretariat of the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee; vice governor of Guizhou Province; secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee; governor of Liaoning Province.

/Li Qing/ [2621 3237] (Minister of Communications): Male, 62, Han nationality, native of Ninghe County, Tianjin Municipality; served as third secretary of the Changsha Municipal CCP Committee; deputy director of the General Bureau of River Transport, deputy director of the Haihe (River) Bureau and director of the Harbor Superintendency Administration Bureau of the Ministry of Communications; secretary of the Wuhan Water Transport Engineering Institute; director of the Water Transport Bureau of the Ministry of Communications; director of the Comprehensive Transport Research Institute of the State Economic Commission; vice minister and concurrently director of the Oceangoing Transport Bureau of the Ministry of Communications.

/Wen Minisheng/ [2429 2404 3932] (Minister of Posts and Telecommunications): Male, 66, Han nationality, native of Yuanqu County, Shanxi Province; served as deputy director of the Central South China Public Security Department; director of the Social Department of the South China Subbureau of the CCP Central Committee; political commissar of the frontier troops; secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee; vice governor of Guangdong Province; secretary, second secretary and acting first secretary of the Henan Provincial CCP Committee; governor of Henan Province; vice secretary of the Harbin Municipal CCP Committee, secretary of the Heilongjiang Provincial CCP Committee and first secretary of the Harbin Municipal CCP Committee.

/Zhao Shouyi/ [6392 1343 0001] (Minister of Labor and Personnel): Male, 65, Han nationality, native of Weinan County, Shaanxi Province; served as deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the Northwest China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee; director of the Propaganda Department, alternate secretary, secretary and second secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial CCP Committee; secretary of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee; vice chairman of the Anhui Provincial Revolutionary Committee; deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee.

/Zhu Muzhi/ [2612 4476 1133] (Minister of Culture): Male, 66, Han nationality, native of Jiangyin County, Jiangsu Province; served as department head, deputy chief editor, deputy director, and director of the XINHUA News Agency; deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee.

/Wu Lengxi/ (0702 0397 6007] (Minister of Broadcast and Television): Male, 62, Han nationality, native of Xinhui County, Guangdong Province; served as chief editor and director of the XINHUA News Agency; chief editor of RENMIN RIBAO, deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee; deputy director of the Central Documents Research Office; secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee.

/He Dongchang/ [0149 2639 2490] (Minister of Education): Male, 59, Han nationality, native of Zhuji County, Zhejiang Province; served as teacher, associate professor, head of the Aeronautics Department, dean of studies, deputy secretary of the CCP Committee and vice president of Qinghua University.

/Cui Yueli/ [1508 2588 3680] (Minister of Public Health): Male, 62, Han nationality, native of Shen County, Hebei Province; served as director of the United Front Work Department and director of the Public Health and Physical Culture Department of the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee; vice chairman of the Beijing Municipal CPPCC and deputy mayor of Beijing; vice minister of public health; vice minister of the Family Planning Association of China; president of the All-China Institute of Traditional Chinese Medicine; vice chairman of the Chinese People's National Committee in Defense of Children.

/Li Menghua/ [2621 1125 5478] (Minister of Physical Cultural and Sports Commission): Male, 60, Han nationality, native of Pingshan County, Hebei Province; served as director of the School Administrative Affairs Office of the Central CYL School; vice secretary of the Southwest China Working Committee of the CYL Central Committee; director of the Southwest China Office of the All-China Youth Federation; deputy director of the Southwest China Physical Cultural and Sports Commission; director and vice minister of the Physical Cultural and Sports Commission.

/Qian Xinzong/ [6929 0207 1813] (Minister of State Family Planning Committee): Male, 71, Han nationality, native of Baoshan County, Shanghai Municipality; served as president of the Red Army's 25th army hospital; director of the Public Health Department of the 129th Division; director of the Public Health Department of the North China military area; director of the Public Health Department of the Second Field Army; vice minister of the Second Ministry of Machine-Building Industry; vice minister and minister of public health.

CSO: 4005/868



## PARTY AND STATE

### HEILONGJIANG PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WORK REPORT

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Mar 82 pp 1, 3-4

[Report on Government Work by Chen Lei [7115 7191] to the Fourth Session of the Fifth Heilongjiang Provincial People's Congress on 23 February 1982]

[Excerpted from a two-page article] It has been fully a year since the Third Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress held in February 1981. On behalf of the Provincial People's Government, I will now report on the work of the past year and submit a work plan for 1982 for your examination and discussion.

#### 1. Work of the Past Year

In the past year, guided by the spirit of the Work Conference of the Party Central Committee and the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, we have carried out the principles of further readjustment in economic work and realizing further stability politically, made new achievements in all fields of work, and accomplished in the main the tasks set forth at the last congress. The political and economic situation as a whole is moving in the direction of continuing improvement.

In accordance with the spirit of the December 1980 Work Conference of the Party Central Committee and the specific plans drawn up by the Provincial Party Committee, in this period of further readjustment in the economy, our last Provincial People's Congress proposed as its guidelines "Take the interests of the whole into account, share difficulties, bring superior forces into play, and make more contributions." The congress determined that implementation of readjustment includes both starting new projects and discontinuing existing ones, both moving forward and cutting back, and practicing "retrenchment, shifting to other products, amalgamation, tapping of potential, and filling in blank spots." In this way we will gradually build our province into five modern bases--for agriculture, light industries, forestry, energy and chemical industries, and heavy industries in order to effectively strengthen leadership over economic work, more than 10 professional leading groups were formed under the leadership of the Provincial Party Committee and Provincial Government. The fields involved included farm mechanization, reclaiming wasteland, sugar refining, textiles, foodstuffs, energy, gold, and machinery. The groups were headed by the vice governors and chiefs of party committee offices and

made up of representatives of related departments. They were able to concentrate their efforts in solving problems in production and construction, providing organizational guarantee to the smooth implementation of readjusting the economy.

Results of the implementation of the 1982 economic plans were satisfactory. Total output value of industry and agriculture is expected to reach 29.2 billion yuan, an increase of 1.8 percent over the previous year. Revenue is expected to reach 16.6 billion yuan, an increase of 3.6 percent over the previous year, averaging 605 yuan per person, an increase of 17 yuan over the previous year. Average consumer spending is expected to reach 390 yuan per person for the province, a 11.1 percent rise over the previous year. In the past year, the economy in the province continued to advance steadily through readjustment, consolidating and developing political stability and unity. Practice proves that the guidelines and measures we adopted to implement readjustment have been in keeping with the line and principles laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Work Conference of the Party Central Committee.

## 2. Main Tasks of 1982

Nineteen eight-two is the 20th year of our country's Sixth 5-Year Plan, also the 20th year of the readjustment of the economy. We will make the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the 4th Session of the 5th National People's Congress as our guide, make further readjustment of the economy, develop the excellent situation of stability and unity, and work to build a spiritual civilization as well as a material civilization. In accordance with the general goals and demands of economic growth for our province as set forth by the provincial party committee, the main tasks this year are: Carry out in an all-round way the 10 principles for readjusting the economy and economic construction, in the spirit of "taking the interests of the whole into account, sharing difficulties, bringing superior forces into play, and making more contributions," continue to build up a modern agricultural base with commodity grain as the main undertaking and an overall development of industrial crops and a diversified economy; a light industrial base with emphasis on the foodstuff and textile industries; a forestry base with forest management as the foundation and emphasizing the multiple utilization of timber; an energy and chemical industrial base developing mainly coal and petroleum; a heavy industry base which stresses readjusting the service direction of the machine industry and developing the construction materials industry. With the construction of the five bases as the focus, we will energetically promote scientific experiments and intellectual development, work hard to attain a faster economic growth--the rate of increase for industry will be to guarantee three, strive for four, and aim at five; for agriculture, to guarantee six, strive for seven, and aim at eight. We must concentrate on overall reorganization in all trades, professions and industries, so that economic effectiveness will increase and revenue will exceed the increase rate of industry and agriculture; continue to stabilize the market and prices; on the basis of developing production, improve the people's material and cultural life and further improve public order.

### 3. Overall Reorganization and Comprehensive Rectification

To further implement the principles of readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing, and upgrading the economy, the provincial party committee has decided to make 1982 the year of reorganization. Through reorganization, we will work to build up the material and spiritual civilization, achieve marked results in the economic sector, and realize still greater stability and unity politically. Therefore, both town and country, both leading organs and grassroots units, and all trades and professions should carry out overall reorganization and comprehensive rectification step by step and in a planned way.

1. Earnestly carry out enterprise reorganization. Enterprises are the life-line of the economy. The mental attitude of the staff and workers, the efficiency of production management, and the degree of economic effectiveness all have important bearings on socialist modernization and construction. In overall reorganization, the stress must be on reorganization of the enterprises.

In reorganizing industrial, communications, finance and trade, and capital construction enterprises, we must earnestly carry out the "Decision on Overall Reorganization of State-Owned Industrial Enterprises" issued by the Party Central Committee and the State Council, doing it step by step and in a planned way, stressing key units while attending to the whole situation, in groups and by stages.

We will reorganize and perfect the economic responsibility system, improve enterprise management and administration, do a good job of overall planning management, quality control, and economic accounting. We must foster the management viewpoint, establish and strengthen management organs, carry out effective decisionmaking, see to it that plans are carried out, and achieve balanced production. We must foster the idea of quality first, establish comprehensive systems of quality control, draw up quality standards for high-quality products, and work hard to increase product varieties to meet market demands. We must establish comprehensive systems of economic accounting, perfecting such basic work as quotas, statistics, and measurements. The large and medium-sized enterprises should strengthen the three-level economic accounting system, and the small enterprises should carry out the two-level accounting system, both in order to increase economic effectiveness. We must, through reorganization, guarantee a year-by-year increase of the state's income, while looking after the interests of both the enterprises and the individual workers; strengthen and perfect the special responsibility systems and personal responsibility systems in production, technology, and management, so that strict responsibility systems will be instituted for the plant director, departments, workshops, teams and shifts.

We will reestablish and strengthen labor discipline, strictly carry out the system of rewards and penalties. Through reorganization, the staff and workers will develop a sense of responsibility as their own masters and conscientiously observe labor discipline. We will mobilize the staff and workers to draw up "regulations for staff and workers," and practice systems of rewards

and penalties as needed. The tendency to issue rewards indiscriminately and insist on equalitarianism must be corrected. Staff and workers who do well in work, observe discipline, and make outstanding achievements should be commended and given rewards. For those who seriously violate labor discipline, the enterprises have the right to take economic or administrative disciplinary action against them according to regulations. Those who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonition should receive more serious punishment, or even be dismissed or fired.

We will strengthen financial and economic discipline and perfect financial and accounting systems. We will audit accounts of all units and block all loopholes. We will strengthen financial work organs and financial management systems. We will strengthen and readjust financial and accounting personnel, improve financial and accounting work so as to bring into play the supervisory role of financial management. In cases of violation of financial discipline, fraud and deception, graft for private gain, interception of profit to be turned over to the state, and evasion of taxes, investigation will be conducted against related personnel and leading personnel to affix economic and legal responsibilities.

We will reorganize the labor force, and organize production by fixing the number of workers and their quotas. On the basis of the personal responsibility system, we will assign qualified personnel according to set standards and fixed numbers. We will actively seek to open up new productive undertakings so that personnel in excess of authorized numbers will be trained for new jobs in a planned way, in groups and by stages, continually to improve their political caliber and technical and professional abilities.

We will rectify our ideas about business operations and overcome the tendency toward liberalization in the economic field. In economic work, we will persist in the principle of relying mainly on planned economy as the main factor and market regulation as a supplementary factor. All production, construction, and circulation activities will be carried out under the guidance of the state plan. Rectification in industry and communications, finance and trade, will be directed at solving the problem of deviation from the socialist direction and violation of the party's principles and policies, at overcoming such erroneous tendencies as slipshod manufacturing, expanding productive capabilities at will, purchasing commodities without planning, going all out to make highly profitable products, being lukewarm about making products with small profits, and refusing to make products that will bring no profits. We must do all we can to correct ideas and actions that ignore state interests and advance local or departmental interests. In agriculture we will try to solve such problems as planting whatever one wishes, turning to trade and neglecting farming, in the surrounding countryside turning to industrial work and neglecting vegetable cultivation, failing to fulfill purchase-and-sale contracts, and hiring hands to grow vegetables. The goal is to achieve, through rectification, correct thinking on business operations and persist in the socialist direction.

The key in reorganizing enterprises is to reorganize and build up the leading groups. All enterprises must observe the basic principles of collective

leadership by the party committee, democratic management by the staff and workers, and the plant director issuing administrative orders. Within this year, we will establish and perfect the system of plant director assuming responsibilities under the leadership of the party committee. We will work effectively to rectify the thinking, work style, and organization of the leading groups, and bring a change to the present state of "laxity, flabbiness, overstaffing, and aging."

Reorganization of units in agriculture, forest industry, science and technology, culture, education and public health, and rural commune-run industries should be carried out in the light of the specific conditions of each unit and referring to the "Decisions of Overall Reorganization of State-Owned Industrial Enterprises." In rural communes and brigades, overall reorganization will be carried out with emphasis on reorganizing and perfecting the responsibility system of paying according to joint quotas, and improving management and administration. Urban neighborhoods should also conduct overall reorganization with focuses on courtesy, cleanliness, and safety.

It is hoped that through reorganization, by the end of this year, one-third of our province's industrial and communications enterprises will markedly increase their economic effectiveness, one-fifth of the enterprises will become "six good enterprises"--good in taking care of the three parties, good in product quality, good in economic effectiveness, good in labor discipline, good in civilized production, and good in political work. Financial, trade, capital construction, and agricultural enterprises should all work hard to increase economic effectiveness and create "six good enterprises."

2. Further strengthen public order. We will earnestly carry out the Party Central Committee's "Directive on Strengthening Political and Legal Work," make the strengthening of public order a political task. We will mobilize all forces on all fronts, implement rectification policies in a comprehensive way, and work hard to bring about a decisive change for the better in public order and social mores.

To strengthen public order, we must strike forcefully at counterrevolutionaries of all kinds, antiparty and antisocialist elements, and active criminal activities, resolutely suppressing the blatant arrogance of the criminals. We must fully mobilize the masses, organize forces on all sides, striking continually in a planned way, and with leadership, at habitual offenders, criminal rings, criminals constantly on the move, muggers, rapists, and burglars. We must adhere to the party's consistent policy of striking at the handful and trying to win over, split off, and reform the majority. We must implement the basic policy of combining punishment with leniency, being lenient to those who confess their crimes and severe to those who refuse to do so. The handful of active criminals who commit homicide, robberies, rapes, blow-ups, arson, and other crimes seriously endangering law and order must be punished severely and promptly according to law. As for those who commit less serious crimes, based upon the nature and the consequences of their crimes, we will try and convict them according to law, and send them off to be reformed through labor. With the majority of the criminals whose cases do not call for prison sentences, we will keep them under surveillance, detain

them, or reeducate them through labor. With juvenile delinquents, we will deal with each case differently, either send them to juvenile reformatories or to work-study schools and give them a chance to study and reform.

We will be stern in handling economic crimes. We will strike hard at crimes such as smuggling and illegal peddling, speculation and profiteering, offering and accepting bribes, and perverting justice for bribes. We will give special attention to investigating serious economic crimes in which there is collusion between people in and outside the country and which involve responsible cadres. Cases with proven evidence and serious in nature will be dealt with severely and promptly according to law. In cases where criminal activities are ignored, tolerated or abetted, we will investigate and affix responsibilities.

We should pay more and special attention to disciplining juveniles who have committed misdeeds. Because of the 10 years of turmoil and the pernicious influence of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, there have been some conspicuous criminal activities by juveniles. We must not treat the phenomena lightly. Administrative departments in government, offices, schools, factories, mines, enterprises, urban neighborhoods, and rural communes and brigades should regard strengthening the education of juveniles as their obligatory duty. We should pay careful attention to the healthy growth of juveniles, watch the trends of their thinking, study the causes of juvenile delinquency and lessons to be drawn, take active measures to educate and guide the juveniles and prevent crimes. We should, with great warmth, help and educate juveniles who have gone astray and help them change for the better. The methodology can be that work units are responsible for their staff and workers, neighborhood committees are responsible for the residents in their areas, schools are responsible for their students, and parents are responsible for their children. We should establish the help-and-educate responsibility system and put into practice help-and-educate measures. We should organize the juveniles to study politics, acquire general education, and learn scientific knowledge, so that they will, in the shortest possible time, change and become useful citizens taking part in the building of socialism. All large and medium-sized cities should earnestly implement the stipulations in the State Council's No 60 document issued last year, gradually set up or expand work-study schools equivalent to general middle schools, regarding the effort as an educational undertaking to transform society and doing a good job of it.

The stress of reorganization will be at the grassroots level. Doing a good job of reorganizing the grassroots organizations and laying good groundwork are fundamental measures to ensure permanent law and order. All grassroots organizations in town and country must step up reorganization work. Legal counseling offices and public notaries will be established at the county level and above. More and better legal cadres will be appointed to rural communes and city neighborhood offices, to bring into play their role in maintaining public order, building the legal system, and handling disputes between people. City and rural public security committees, mediation committees, and city neighborhood committees will all draw up plans of reorganization by groups and in stages. We will select and invite veteran party members, veteran cadres, and



veteran workers to head the three types of committees. Each person will have a specific position and specific responsibilities, rely on the masses, and do a good job of safeguarding public security, mediating disputes, and strengthening unity among the people. We will strengthen the security organizations in government offices, schools, factories and mines, enterprises, railroads, aviation, communications and transportation, and other grassroots units, strengthen safety and guard work, especially at armories, treasuries, and warehouses, and block up loopholes so as not to give any opportunity to criminals. We will organize workers' pickets to strengthen joint military and civilian defense. Public security departments must work closely with relevant departments, rely fully on the masses, post patrols day and night to maintain law and order. We will organize and mobilize forces from all sides to maintain overall law and order. Responsibility systems of safety and guard work will be instituted from top to bottom on all fronts, in all departments, all trades and professions, so as to give rewards and punishments strictly and impartially, thus ensuring the implementation of the responsibility systems.

We will further publicize the socialist legal system, educating the cadres and the masses so that they will gain an ever deepening understanding of the system. Laws are the expressions of the will of the classes and the people. They are weapons used to strike at the enemy, punish criminals, and protect the people. We must uphold the dignity of law and bring into full play the role of the legal system, but we absolutely must not set the legal system against, or separate it from, the leadership of the party. Only public security and judicial departments have the right to deal with criminal actions in violation of the state's laws. No administrative organs, other organizations, or individuals are allowed to interfere. We must insist on the principle that everybody is equal before the law, no matter who he is. We must vigorously commend people who are exemplary in abiding by the law and ever ready to fight for justice. We will do away with anarchistic tendencies and extreme individualism and work hard to create a social environment and the kind of public opinion in which everyone is responsible for maintaining law and order, in which a healthy atmosphere prevails, and in which goodness is upheld and evil condemned. All types of cadre schools, colleges and universities, middle and primary schools should add courses on the legal system in their curriculum in order firmly to establish in the students' minds the importance of abiding by the law. We will combine publicity and education of the legal system with the building of a spiritual civilization, launch "five stresses and four beauties" activities extensively and in a thoroughgoing way, and gradually foster fine social mores.

3. Do an effective job of reorganizing government organs. In reorganizing government organs, the first thing is to rectify ideology, work style, and discipline, giving special attention to solving such problems as bureaucratism, listlessness, low efficiency, and unhealthy tendencies. We must exert ourselves, overcome a flabby and lax state of mind, and wholeheartedly serve the central tasks. We must conscientiously improve our work style and do a good job of investigation, study, supervision, and inspection. Leading cadres in governments at all levels should devote more time to going deeply into realities and among the masses and devote their main efforts to studying new conditions, discovering new methods, solving new problems, and opening up new

situations. In the work of government organs, we will establish and strengthen personal responsibility systems, define clearly the scope of duties and responsibilities, set up strict work disciplines, and establish good work order. Staff personnel in the organs should all foster the ideology of wholeheartedly serving the people, keeping close contact with the masses, be concerned with their illnesses and sufferings, carry forward the fine traditions of working hard, observing discipline, and being honest in performing official duties, work hard for prosperity, and make every effort to improve the quality and efficiency of work.

We should foster in a big way habits of studying, conducting investigations, making criticism and self-criticism. We must resolutely correct the bad habits and bureaucratic style of being superior and divorced from the masses, dragging one's feet in work, being slack in discipline, wrangling over trifles, and being irresponsible. In accordance with the requirements set forth in Premier Zhao Ziyang's government work report to the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress--to streamline and simplify government organs, overcome bureaucratism, and raise work efficiency--we must, in a step-by-step way, restructure and streamline government organs, provide training for cadres in an orderly manner. Before restructuring of organs is carried out, all cadres must set their minds at rest, each carrying out his duty, working according to his ability, shouldering his responsibility, and exerting himself to do a good job in his work. The departments should cooperate and support each other and not shift responsibilities to others, each going his own way and affecting work adversely.

4. The method of reorganization will be to combine key individual units with the general situation, doing so in groups and by stages.

Reorganization at key units will be carried on at the same time with reorganization of all units. In key units, the reorganization and rectification must be comprehensive, and be done group by group. For the overall situation, rectification will be done item by item, one after another. It is planned to complete rectification of key units in 2 or 3 years, doing so by groups. The first group of units to be rectified will be experimental and so there should not be too many units in number. After reorganization and rectification of the first group is completed, there will be a summing up of experience before proceeding group by group with the rest.

All branches of industry and trade should proceed from reality, and make plans for reorganization in groups and by stages. Leading departments of key units to be reorganized must appoint responsible cadres and cadres with good ideology, work style, and drive, who are familiar with production, technology and the profession, to form investigation teams. Under the unified leadership of the local party committees and governments, the teams will go in groups and at different times to the units to give guidance as needed, help solve problems, and improve the caliber of leadership.

Current tasks of reorganization in other than key enterprises are to overhaul financial work and strengthen financial discipline. At the same time, in accordance with the spirit of the circular, "Report on the Question of Learning



"from Daqing in Industry," issued by the party committee of the State Economic Commission and transmitted by the Party Central Committee, the units should carry out careful and thoroughgoing ideological education so that the masses of staff and workers will take active part in enterprise reorganization as masters of the country. We will guide the people in learning from advanced regions, trades and professions, units, individuals, science and technology, and operations and management, and in building up capabilities through mastering advanced science and taking experts as teachers. We hope in this way to bring about an upsurge in comparing, learning from, and catching up with the more advanced, and helping the laggards, in an upsurge of the "six goods." We will earnestly sum up and popularize the advanced experiences and promote the healthy development of overall reorganization.

Overall reorganization and rectification involve a wide range of activities. We must strengthen leadership and strictly implement policies. Reorganization must be carried out under leadership and in a planned, organized, and step-by-step way, and not having each unit do things its own way. We must proceed from reality when solving problems and not impose arbitrary uniformity. We must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and implement the principle of relying mainly on the method of education. We must persist in carrying out reorganization and restructuring at the same time, integrating the two; and restructuring and rebuilding at the same time, integrating the two. Enterprises and units that have drawn up plans for reorganization must do a good job from start to finish, making inspections after reorganization is completed before final approval. An investigation team must not leave a unit which does not measure up to standards but must stay and continue with the reorganization program. Enterprises should rely mainly on their own personnel in conducting reorganization. Special investigation teams are there only to assist in the work, not to take over the work. Reorganization will not be done in the form of conducting movements, but in normal ways.

#### Delegates:

Heilongjiang Province is one of our country's important agricultural forestry, and industrial regions. Doing a good job of work in every field of our province is of importance to the development of the economy and accelerating the four modernizations. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have summed up the positive and negative experience in economic construction and found a new way to develop the economy suited to the actual conditions of our province. Now the Party Central Committee and the State Council have put forth 10 principles of economic construction. We have the cadres' and masses' enthusiasm and creativity in building socialism, a fairly solid material foundation, and rich natural resources. As long as we work with one heart and mind, we will achieve better economic effectiveness, our economy will grow steadily, the people's life will continue to improve, work in education, science, technology, and culture will produce still greater achievements, and a situation of stability and unity is sure to be realized. Under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, we will unite with the people of different nationalities, exert ourselves, go all out, actively implement policies and steadily push forward the socialist modernization and construction of our province!

9856

CSO: 4005/763

## PARTY AND STATE

### AMENDMENT TO CIVIL LAW CONCERNING JURY SYSTEM ANALYZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by He Shan [0149 1472]: "The Reform of the Jury System in Civil Cases"]

[Text] The system of trial by jury in civil cases is an institution of litigation in which the presence of the people's jury is required at the first trial of civil cases in the people's court. The "Law of Civil Procedure of the PRC (Draft)," Article 35, adopted by the 22d Session of the Standing Committee of the 5th National People's Congress, stipulates: "The panel at the first trial of a civil case in the people's court may be jointly organized by the jury and the prosecution or organized by the prosecution alone." This stipulation that the presence of the jury may or may not be required at the trial of certain cases is an amendment to the original stipulation that requires the presence of the jury at the first trial of every complicated civil case in the people's court. This decision to limit the use of trial by jury to specific cases is an important reform in the system of trial by jury in civil procedure in our country.

Why should this reform be carried out? First, we must consider it necessary to conduct an objective analysis of the role of the system of trial by jury in the civil procedure. On the one hand, the presence of the people's jury at the trial of certain cases is significant in that it can offer knowledge and information not in the possession of the prosecution, or advice that can help the people's court come up with a correct verdict. For example, the presence of the jurors at the trial of certain cases that need their technical knowledge can help the joint panel in the court come up with correct and swift decisions on issues of fact; the presence of jurors at the trial of a technically complicated case for which they can provide technical knowledge can also help the prosecutor with additional information. On the other hand, we must recognize the limited role played by the people's jury in the legal proceedings. For example, generally speaking, the jurors are handicapped by their lack of legal knowledge and experiences in law enforcement, and therefore, their presence at the first trial of even a very complicated civil case is not necessarily a guarantee for fair trial. Furthermore, as a matter of principle, the people's jurors cannot be asked to spend more than 10 days a year on jury duty, a length of time which is far from sufficient to conclude the trial of a complicated civil case. When the jurors are not allowed to spend enough time

investigating and studying the case or looking into the details with which they are unfamiliar, summoning them to appear in the court in such a hurried manner will serve "no useful purpose." This proves that the rule requiring the presence of the jury at the trial of every case is not justified and is bound to turn the jury system into a matter of formality. Second, this reform now underway is based on a review of the actual application of the system of trial by jury in civil cases in our country. Our people's jury system went into effect in 1951 as indicated in the "Provisional Regulations Governing the Organization of the Courts of the PRC" adopted by the Central People's Government that year. This stipulation on the trial by jury in civil cases was included in the laws proclaimed thereafter. As far as the jury system is concerned, it has been in force in our country for many years. But for the reason mentioned earlier, the ratio of civil cases tried by jury to other civil cases not tried by jury in our country is very small. In view of this, we must take realistic steps to enact laws limiting the use of trial by jury to specific cases.

Third, our current reform of the jury system has been conducted in a way that takes into account the experiences of foreign countries in this respect. The jury system was originally founded in the middle ages by the Kingdom of the Franks and later introduced to England by the Normans. Since then, the grand or petit juries have been organized to participate in the indictment and trial of legal cases in England. After England came the United States which has adopted the same jury system. The great French Revolution was instrumental in spreading the jury system from France to other parts of Europe until its popularity reached a peak. But the jury system began to decline in the middle of the 19th century. There was a law concerning the jury adopted by the Kuomintang government in old China. But it was never put into effect. Today, only a few capitalist countries still continue to retain the jury system. The people's jury system is now also practical by the Soviet Union and East European countries. The evolution of the jury system is reflected in the history of its vicissitude. During the period of transition from the feudal society to the capitalist society, the jury system was instrumental in depriving the feudal rulers of the judicial power and in making it serve the new bourgeoisie. This transition was a step forward in popularizing the jury system throughout the world. But as soon as the bourgeoisie succeeded in consolidating its political power, it began to recognize this form of jury trials as a stumbling block to the trial by judge and a system incapable of meeting the needs of the legal proceedings of the modern time. Today, those countries which still retain the jury system have also begun to limit its use to specific cases while concentrating their attention on bringing its merits into play.

9574

CSO: 4005/791

## PARTY AND STATE

### CRACK DOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIMES IN HUBEI

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Gong Dafa [7895 6671 4099]: "Crack Down on Economic Crimes in Hubei Develops in Depth"]

[Text] The great inspection on financial and economic discipline in Hubei Province which started last November has already entered a stage of overall rectification and reform. It cracks down on various criminal economic activities and is developing in depth.

In recent years, all kinds of unhealthy tendencies in the economic sphere generally exist in some districts and units of Hubei. Like an enormous "mud-rock flow" they seriously pound at the socialist system and national economy and have undermined party work style and corrupted a number of cadres and staff workers. Since last year, close to 10,000 cadres and finance and accounting personnel selected and mobilized by the Hubei Provincial Committee of the CCP and the provincial government have organized over 1,900 inspection groups which have conscientiously inspected the units of all kinds of enterprises and professions in the province on the basis of individual units conducting self-inspection. By early March, a total of 221 million yuan resulting from the violation of financial and economic discipline throughout the province has been discovered and 60 million yuan has been handed over to the national treasury.

In the course of inspecting its financial and economic discipline, Hubei Province has stressed cracking down on economic criminals involved in smuggling and resale of smuggled goods, speculation and swindling, offering and accepting bribes, corruption and stealing. It has handled 24 cases of major economic crimes each involving over 10,000 yuan. After the disposal of the case on theft and resale of automobiles in Anyang, Honan, the Hubei provincial committee immediately authorized the party committee of the No 2 Automobile Plant to investigate everyone involved. Preliminary investigation proved that the No 2 Automobile Plant's supply section chief, Yang Weiyu [2799 4850 3768], and the deputy chief of support and planning section, Li Zhaorui [2621 0340 3843], received from the "auto king," Chen Xihai [7115 1585 3189], bribes of television sets, radio-tape recorders and watches valued at over 20,000 yuan. After accepting the bribes they took advantage of their authority to collude with people from inside and outside, perpetrated frauds and resorted to trickery, stole and sold 404 East Wind automobiles manufactured by that plant so that Chen

Xihai and others reaped a huge profit amounting to 64,000 yuan. Yang Weiyu and Li Zhaorui have already been arrested in compliance with the law. Others involved are being further investigated. In Wuchang County, vocational worker Zhou Xin [6650 9515] of the Tuditang Quarry used bribery to collude with the purchase agent of the Qingshan Heat and Power Plant in Wuhan Municipality to take away over 14,000 yuan from the state capital funds by falsifying reports on rock materials and transportation fees. Zhou Xin alone swallowed up the enormous sum of 100,000 yuan. He has already been arrested in compliance with the law.

9586

CSO: 4005/773

## PARTY AND STATE

### FORMER GUANGZHOU PARTY OFFICIAL SENTENCED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Apr 82 p 1

[Article: "Speculating, Profiteering and Reaping Huge Profits; Resisting Investigation and Refusing To Admit Guilt--Guangzhou Sentences Wang Weijing to 2 Years' Imprisonment in Compliance With the Law"]

[Text] The intermediate people's court in Guangzhou today publicly tried the case of Wang Weijing [3769 4850 4842], former secretary of the party committee and chief of the telecommunication bureau in Guangzhou, for engaging in speculation and profiteering with his wife, Wang Min [3769 2404]. In compliance with the law Wang Weijing was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment.

In January 1981 Wang Min linked up with Wang Weijing, a student in Beijing, and brought three color television sets illegally purchased from Japan, one West German radio-tape recorder, together with a Guangzhou-made black-and-white television set which she had used for many years; she joined Wang Weijing in Yantai in Shandong. They then went to Wang Min's hometown in Wendeng County to resell them at the Shaizi Commune. The total resale price was 10,805.90 yuan, reaping a staggering profit of over 4,000 yuan.

In July 1980 Wang Weijing used the official seal of the municipal telecommunication bureau to make personal certifications for Wang Min. Once again Wang Min brought 2 imported television sets, 2 radio-tape recorders, 98 electronic calculators and 5 watches to Shandong for resale at high prices. Eventually these were discovered by customs at Yantai. The resale goods were confiscated and she was fined 4,000 yuan.

In the course of speculation and profiteering, Wang Weijing and Wang Min illegally took a total of HK \$8,000 in remittance. Wang Weijing even accepted a bribe of one Japanese radio-tape recorder from traders in Hong Kong.

After the criminal conduct of Wang Weijing and Wang Min was exposed. to conceal his crimes Wang Weijing made a pact with Wang Min and persons in the know to shield each other by fabricating lies and instigating others to give false evidence and to resist investigation. Ever since his arrest he has refused to admit his guilt.

Today when the court tried the case of speculation and profiteering by Wang Weijing, a large amount of material evidence and testimony was shown, proving

that Wang Weijing and his wife Wang Min had collaborated in the crime of speculation and profiteering. In accordance with the provisions of articles 117 and 119 of the criminal code, the court sentenced Wang Weijing to 2 years' imprisonment.

Wang Min died in the hospital on 21 March because of schlerosis combined with cancer of the liver. The court halted the trial and ceased to pursue her criminal responsibility.

9586

CSO: 4005/773

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BA YI' HITS TENURE ARTICLE OF DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW091221 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] An article in the draft revised constitution stipulates that the chairman of state, the premier of the State Council and the chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee may be reelected, but only for one additional term. At first glance, the article seems very democratic since it prevents these leaders from indefinitely staying in their jobs and thus lording it over the collective and the entire party. However, the truth is that this article has affirmed by law the lifetime office tenure of these party, government and army leaders.

During the months of discussion concerning the draft revised constitution, many comrades offered specific views aimed at revising this article. They pointed out that besides limiting the terms of office to no more than two, the article should also impose an age limit for candidates for these positions. Otherwise, the article cannot fulfill its intended purpose.

The article was written into the draft revised constitution in compliance with instructions given last year in a talk by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. He said: Ours is a big party and our nation is a big country. Thus, we need scores of veteran cadres who are world renowned, circumspect and far-sighted, capable of planning ahead in overall national affairs and yet still vigorous enough to stay in party and state leading posts in order to secure our positions. Just think: What difference is there between what the article stipulates and the system of leaders' lifetime office tenure when one realizes that these scores of veteran comrades who are renowned, capable of overall planning and physically vigorous are mostly in their 70's or even in their 80's, and that when they are reelected for even only one additional term, they will be in their 80's or 90's by the time they have served their terms of office.

As a general rule, comrades who are young, vigorous, virtuous and talented should be elected to leading posts in the party and state organs. The constitution is our nation's fundamental law. It is improper to implement a de facto system of lifetime office tenure by scores of veteran cadres--in fact, only five or six party and army leaders.



True, these veteran cadres are an invaluable treasure to our party. They have rendered indelible meritorious service to the party and the people. But as the years go by, our party's veteran cadres--particularly those heading the central organs--have become senile and physically feeble. In fact, it has become more and more difficult for these comrades to endure the burden of their jobs. At present, most of the comrades in the central organs even lack the physical stamina to sit through a conference that takes a little longer than usual. If these comrades are reelected or appointed to leading posts in the party, government and army central organs, they not only will hinder the growth of new leading comrades but also, very possibly, even cause serious damage to the causes of the party and the people.

CSO: 4005/868

## PARTY AND STATE

### PARTY MEMBERS, CADRES SEE PROVINCE-LEVEL ORGANS AS MODEL

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Zhou Shiquan [0719 1102 3123] and Lu Aimin [0712 1947 3046]: "Province-level Organs Party Committees and the All-Committee Expanded Conference Call on All Party Members and Cadres to Strengthen Party Spirit Discipline; Strive to Make Province-level Organs an All-Province Model"]

[Text] Province-level organs party committees held an all-committee expanded conference on 15-16 March and demanded that party members and cadres of province-level organs begin to take positive action to strengthen party spirit discipline and to strive to make province-level organs a model for the entire province.

Comrades Hu Hong [5170 1347], Zhu Jiang [0328 3068] and Lo Yunlai [5012 6663 0171] attended the conference. Comrade Zhu Jiang gave a speech at the conference calling on party organizations at all levels to resolve to strive to rectify party style, raise party fighting strength, uphold the spirit of thoroughly implementing the directive of the Central Committee on launching an attack on economic crime. Leadership comrades at all levels should take a firm stand and actively throw themselves into this struggle with staunch party spirit and a high degree of responsibility toward the people.

Comrades at the meeting emphatically discussed six areas in which province-level organ party members and cadres should be models:

1. *Uphold the four basic principles and maintain political unity with the Party Central Committee.* Communist party members, especially party member leadership cadres, should conscientiously study and carry out the party's lines, principles and policies. They should criticize and struggle with words and deeds which go against the party's lines, principles and policies, and the four basic principles and disorganized and undisciplined phenomena to protect party unity.

2. *Conscientiously implement the "Guiding Principles" and improve party style.* Party members and cadres should seriously observe the "Guiding Principles," party discipline and state law and must not use the authority for personal gain or use public offices for private gain, invent pretexts to appropriate and squander state and collective property. They should now conscientiously get into the struggle to attack economic crimes.

3. *Intensify study and strive to adapt to the needs of the four modernizations.* We should conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, study hard and master the specialized knowledge for modernization and raise scientific education and professional levels.
4. *Reform organ work style and improve work efficiency.* We should be geared to the needs of the grass roots and the masses and resolutely reform the bureaucratic work style of doors hard to enter, people hard to find and things hard to do and resolutely correct the very irresponsible phenomena of equivocation, being slow, wrangling and passing the buck.
5. *Strengthen organization and raise party fighting strength.* We should make party organizational life healthy, launch criticism and self-criticism and vigorously praise good people and good deeds. Party members and leadership cadres at all levels should fully develop democracy and accept the supervision of party organizations and the masses.
6. *Launch "Five Stresses" and "Four Points of Beauty" activity in depth and strive to build a socialist spiritual culture.* In "five stresses" and "four points of beauty" activity, party members should take the lead in exemplifying social morality, self-consciously obey the law and maintain public order of organs and society; in family, neighborhood and social activity, establish the excellent style of mutual respect and mutual help. Strengthen education of children. Take the lead in carrying out late marriage and planned parenthood.

At the meeting, Wang Weiliang [3769 4850 5328], secretary of the Province-level Organ Party Committee, gave a work report "Begin to Take Positive Action, Strive to Make Province-level Organs the Model for the Entire Province." The Provincial Chemical Industry Office party organization and the organ party committees of the Provincial Public Safety Office and the New China News Agency presented experience in intensifying ideological and political work and launching activity to choose outstanding party members and advanced party branches.

Comrade Lo Yunlai gave a speech at the conclusion of the conference.

8226

CSO: 4005/790

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### DENG'S WAY OF CONSOLIDATING PLA CADRES CRITICIZED

OW091237 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] During his tenure of office as chairman of the Military Commission, Comrade Deng Xiaoping could not wait to conduct a major consolidation of cadres at and above the regimental level in the PLA. Since the consolidation began 1 year or so ago, it has led to two serious consequences. First, the majority of army cadres who are transferred to civilian jobs, particularly those transferred from urban to rural areas, are reluctant to leave the army and are dissatisfied with their new stations and jobs. Second, the placement of several hundred thousand PLA commanders and fighters in civilian jobs in various localities in China has directly affected job opportunities for civilians who have been unemployed for a long time. In the past, some persons were able to get jobs or transfers in a year or so. Now they do not know how much longer they will have to wait to have their job problems solved. It is precisely because of this direct conflict of interests between unemployed civilians and army personnel transferred to civilian jobs that many unfortunate incidents have taken place throughout the country in the past year and more.

We should first realize that the various principles concerning the consolidation of army cadres at and above the regimental level proposed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping violate the cadre policies consistently pursued by our party and our army. If cadres were to be consolidated according to these principles, none of the cadres promoted or holding leading posts during the cultural revolution would meet the conditions for discharge and transfer to civilian jobs.

Just think, Lin Biao was a famous general of our army who served as minister of national defense for many years. At the Ninth CCP National Congress, Chairman Mao proposed that Lin Biao be vice chairman and successor of our party's cause and the proposal was unanimously adopted by the congress. Premier Zhou, a proletarian revolutionary, in a speech in August 1967, said: Our deputy supreme commander, Comrade Lin Biao, enjoys popular confidence. With several decades of training, tempering and leading experience, Comrade Lin Biao has proven that he is the first one to hold aloft the red banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

Under these conditions, PLA commanders and fighters naturally implemented Lin Biao's line on army building, his fighting principles and his cadre policies. Thus, any army cadre who is disliked today may at any time be accused of being influenced by the Lin Biao line and having certain organizational and ideological connections with Lin Biao. It goes without saying that the consolidation of army cadres according to those so-called principles will surely go astray and inevitably arouse dissatisfaction among army cadres.

More serious still, it was precisely because Comrade Deng Xiaoping could not wait to consolidate the contingent of army cadres during his tenure of office as chairman of the Military Commission that he did not have the time to make conscientious and proper arrangements for handling the large number of cadres. As a result, many cadres, after their discharge from the army and transfer to the civilian community, are unable to find suitable jobs which meet the needs of their new life. This is particularly true with army cadres who have lived a long time in cities. Their wives and children used to have jobs or go to schools in the city. With their transfer to rural areas, they lose all this. Moreover, after their transfer to civilian jobs, army cadres sometimes encounter difficulties in their work because they are not familiar with civilian work. Furthermore, the several hundred thousand discharged army commanders and fighters have taken jobs which could have been given to a large number of civilians who have been jobless for a long time. This has caused dissatisfaction among local people with the army and has seriously affected the army-civilian relationship just as it has begun to turn for the better.

CSO: 4005/867

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### DENG'S MILITARY REFORM PLAN DISCUSSED

OW181132 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Without question, the military system needs to be reformed, because the shortcomings affecting the work efficiency of party and government organizations also exist in military leading organs at all levels, for example, overstaffing, the lack of clearly defined responsibilities, the dilatory style of work, bureaucracy, aging leading cadres, and so forth.

However, some of the reform measures being adopted cannot but make people feel worried. First, these reform measures inevitably will basically disrupt the PLA's command system formed over decades. Second, reforming military leading organs by dealing blows at cadres inevitably will undermine the PLA's strength.

One proposed plan calls for the merger of the General Staff Headquarters, the General Political Department and the General Logistics Department into a new leading organ similar to the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. It seems that after his frequent contacts with high-ranking U.S. military leaders, Comrade Deng Xiaoping is inclined to have our military system reformed after the U.S. military system, ignoring the PLA's experience in army-building over the past more than 50 years.

Moreover, the previously mentioned plan on merging the three PLA general departments calls for the elimination of many organizations and positions and the establishment of new ones. When this plan is implemented, again a large number of PLA cadres, particularly veteran cadres, inevitably will be forced out of the military.

Because of the many serious mistakes made in internal and foreign affairs in the past few years, there are cadres in every PLA unit, military district and military organization who are to varying degrees discontented with the present policies. This is only natural. It is absolutely impermissible to use this as an excuse to dispose of PLA cadres. Moreover, the elimination of the experienced cadres who uphold principle and are of a rather high political level from the PLA can only undermine the PLA's fighting capacity.

Recently someone suggested to have Wu Xiuquan, Zhang Zhen, Zhang Aiping, Yang Chengwu, Zhang Caiqian and other deputy chiefs of general staff moved to the second or third line and to ask the commanders, political commissars and other leaders of the Nanjing PLA units, Guangzhou PLA units and Wuhan PLA units to retire or become advisers and so forth. This is intended as a way to achieve the above-mentioned goal.

Although no date has been officially set yet for the reform of the entire military system, it can now be said with certainty that when the plan is put into effect, it will certainly bring an unprecedented calamity to the PLA.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'BA YI' ON PLIGHT OF FAMILIES OF SOLDIERS, MARTYRS

OW181434 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 13 May 82

[Summary from poor reception] Since the implementation of the new economic policies, most families of soldiers and revolutionary martyrs have found it difficult to make a living. Most of them cannot match the living standards of other commune members. This problem merits attention. If the problem is not solved, it inevitably will create great difficulties for the work of the army.

In the past, during the war of resistance against Japan and the liberation war, or after the founding of the People's Republic, families of soldiers and revolutionary martyrs were well taken care of, and it was an honor for young people to join the army and go to the frontline.

"By contrast, despite the fact that now is peacetime and that living conditions have much improved in the army, young people in rural areas have the unhealthy tendency to dodge military service. This is something that never happened before.

"To be sure, the production responsibility system, free markets, private plots and so forth have enlivened the rural economy, but we cannot underestimate the disadvantages brought by the new economic policies. At present, except for the opportunists engaged in dishonest practices, the best-off people in rural areas are commune members with more able-bodied workers in their families. In short, families with more grownup sons and daughters and greater labor force are becoming more prosperous. By contrast, families of revolutionary martyrs and soldiers, or families which are short in manpower but still have some members serving in the army, are obviously facing serious difficulties making ends meet.

"Especially since Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward the slogan of permitting individuals and households to get rich, the unhealthy tendency of going after money is becoming more and more rampant." Many county and commune cadres have left their posts and returned to their home villages for long periods to engage in businesses that can make money quickly. Under the circumstances, it is not at all surprising that many rural youths are unwilling to serve in the army and prefer to stay home and make money.

If the problems of the livelihood of families of revolutionary martyrs and soldiers in rural areas are not solved properly and in good time, the consequences to the military service will be serious.

CSO: 4005/867



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### QIAO XIAO GUANG MEETS PLA ATHLETES

HK140604 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 May 82

[Text] To further promote the development of our frontier forces' sports activities, the Guangxi Regional Military District recently held a table tennis tournament in Nanning Municipality. The athletes and referees who attended the tournament came from various frontier units in Guangxi, and military subdistricts and units directly under the regional military district. They included company cadres who were cited for meritorious service during the self-defense counterattack against Vietnam; army staff commanders and clerical staff and responsible comrades of sections and departments of PLA units; new recruits who enlisted for military service this year; and old cadres who are veterans in battle and have left jobs for convalescence. It was a lively tournament. After the tournament, responsible comrades of the Political Department of the Guangxi Regional Military District awarded certificates of merit and prizes to representatives of the winning teams in the team competitions and to the winners in the individual competitions.

On the evening of 11 May, Qiao Xiaoguang, first secretary of the autonomous regional CCP Committee and first political commissar of the Guangxi Regional Military District, received the athletes and urged them to contribute to the promotion of PLA units' sports activities when they return to their units.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### PLA UNITS IN XINJIANG, XIZANG GUARD FRONTIER

OW081245 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] According to a JIEFANGJUN BAO report, frontier units in Xinjiang have launched an extensive campaign to emulate advanced examples in guarding the frontier. At the same time, they have conducted in-depth education among fighters to have them love the motherland, like border defense work, regard it as a glory to bear hardships and view the sentry posts as their homes. This has spurred on the fulfillment of the task of preparations against war and other duties.

Early this year the party committee of the Urumqi PLA units awarded citations to 18 advanced units and 17 advanced individuals in border defense work and called on frontier commanders and fighters to emulate the spirit of valuing the interests and honor of the motherland above everything else. In the emulation campaign, the frontier units have led cadres and fighters to discover their shortcomings and formulate measures in the light of the advanced examples. The patriotism aroused through the campaign has been used to promote the work of safeguarding and building the frontier. As a result of this emulation campaign, many grassroots cadres have become more determined to take root at the frontier.

Another source said that the party branch of the ninth company of an air force radar unit in Xizang conducted a concrete and lively patriotic education among its cadres and fighters, known as "I Love New Xizang" education. This education stimulated their feelings of honor and responsibility in performing their service in the PLA, in guarding the border region and in carrying out hard struggle. Now that all cadres and fighters of the ninth company like the mountainous area where they are stationed, cherish their company and love Xizang, a new outlook has appeared in this company.

CSO: 4005/867

## PARTY URGED TO KEEP HANDS OFF LITERATURE, ART

Hong Kong CHEN MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 51-53

[Article by Huai Bing [2837 0393]: "'Governing by Nonaction' Is the Ideal of CCP Literary and Art Workers"]

[Text] The democratization of Chinese communist literature and art is an enormous process. In this process, without regard for their own safety, many literary and art critics have opened avenues for creative artists. Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598] is outstanding among them. Whether in demanding the broadening of the writer's creative material and permitting the exposure of society's dark side or in demanding that literature and art shed its political dependency and that the CCP relax its control of literature and art, he has dared to call a spade a spade, contend with those in power, and express the strength of character of writers and artists with consciences. For example, in early 1980, when Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang said that writers should pay attention to "social results," Wang Ruowang opposed them circuitously: "Because the abuses of the gang of four's cultural dictatorship are still around, and those who have picked up the cudgels even though they consider themselves good people have not yet changed their ways. When the party Central Committee's good intentions reach them, they convert them into cudgels. As far as "social results" are concerned, as soon as this phrase gets into their hands, it can turn into an all-encompassing cudgel that will attack any writing. For example, as long as more than three people (three people is a crowd) get together to oppose it, the consequences of their brandishing the "ruthless cudgel" as representatives of the "social results" which exist objectively can be said to sow the seeds of "endless disaster." Thus he proposed earnestly: "There should be a dual 'exhortation,' one exhorting literary people to pay attention to social results of works to raise writers' feelings of political responsibility; the other exhorting critics and leadership comrades not to assign the label of 'social results' indiscriminately." Under the Chinese Communist system, the words of the leaders are sacred edicts and people generally get angry, but do not dare to speak out, so they protest in silence, becoming "party member" writers. But it was the "rightist" Wang Ruowang, who dared publically to dissent (in CCP terms, it was "singing a different tune than the party") and without being sincere in sacrificing for literature and are this would have been absolutely impossible to do.

Having understood what has been said above, one can understand why in literary and art criticism, the CCP authorities have named names and made him the "target" of criticism in this CCP movement to criticize "bourgeois liberalization."

#### I. RED FLAG Criticizes "Governing by Nonaction"

The CCP authorities' dissatisfaction with Wang Ruowang is naturally multifaceted, but the greatest dissatisfaction is with his artistic ideal of "governing by nonaction." Why this ideal provoked such antipathy on the part of the authorities requires careful study. Below we will look at the content of the most recent authoritative critique.

Wang Ruowang's artistic ideal of "governing by nonaction" was published in No 9 of 1979 of RED FLAG (the CCP's theoretical publication and was entitled "On 'Governing by Nonaction' of Literature and Art." (Hereafter "Nonaction.") Last year in No 13, RED FLAG carried an article by Yu Yiding [0060 0001 0002], "On Liberating Thought and Bourgeois Liberalization" which contained a severe criticism of "Nonaction" through not by name. The writer said this: "Central to upholding the four basic principles is upholding the party's leadership, but the center of bourgeois liberalization is to oppose the party's leadership. People who engage in bourgeois liberalization proclaim the party should 'govern by nonaction,' that is, they do not want the party's leadership, thinking that once the party leads it will 'crudely interfere' and obstruct the thorough implementation of the 'double hundred' principle. This view is very mistaken: it violates the fundamental interests of the peoples of the entire nation and it violates objective truth." It also said, "People who engage in bourgeois freedom use the pretext of liberating thinking to write articles which doubt and oppose the party's leadership, so either their thinking is confused or they have an ulterior motive and this is something we must watch out for."

Leaving aside for the moment whether or not what Mr Wang said conforms to the facts, whether or not that many good works really did appear in the years after the founding of the PRC, we can see that he did not oppose CCP leadership. What he did oppose was the leadership method which did not understand the characteristics of art, the blind dictating which often violated artistic laws and set various regulations and restrictions which bound the artist hand and foot. The "governing by nonaction" which he proposed was only a better leadership method offered to the CCP so that the CCP literature and art could come back to life from its withered state.

2. According to Wang Ruowang, his literary and artistic ideal was not made up by him, but was presented by Chen Yi in 1962 at the Guangzhou conference: Chen Yi felt: "There are a great many things which it appears can be governed by nonaction, whatever is led seems to be led poorly, and those things which are not led turn out to be better." Mr Chen also felt that if one does not have confidence, then one should not lead, and that it is better "to let those with experience do it and 'sit and enjoy the fruits of the work of others.'"

Actually, the point of "Nonaction" doesn't really extend this section from Chen Yi ['s speech] and it does not depart from the theme of his speech: There are

some things, for example the few sentences following "if one does not have confidence" where Chen Yi speaks more sharply than Mr Wang. Therefore, I really do not understand just where he made his mistake. Where is his crime?

What a big label and what a big stick! If we read the "Nonaction" essay carefully, it is easy to see that Mr Yu's critique has garbled the essay and has not sufficiently sought truth from facts. Wang Ruowang has no rights to counter this criticism, but has only the obligation to make a self-criticism, so I wish to speak in his defense.

## II. Is Wang Ruowang Opposed to Party Leadership?

Is Wang Ruowang really opposed to party leadership and not want party leadership? No, this is not so. Mr Wang definitely does not disapprove of CCP leadership and to say that he is opposed to it is even greater nonsense. This can be seen clearly in the following from his essay:

1. One paragraph in his essay expresses in particular that he supports CCP leadership. He says: "The historical facts of literature and art over the past 30 years show that in the period after the founding of the PRC, the party adopted a rather liberal policy toward literary and artistic creation. The upper levels of the party (read: Zhou Enlai and Chen Yi) summarized creative achievements at several Wendaihui [2429 0108 2585], pointed out the direction of the future, praised well-written works and pointed out the unhealthy trends, etc." He also mentioned how the present CCP leaders were friends with writers and artists, had heart-to-heart talks and when they criticized a work for being wrong, they did not do so as judges, but just made proposals as part of the ordinary audience. They have not used their personal likes and dislikes as a standard for their choices, nor have they decided the fate of a work with a single word, so the present-day world of literature and art is prosperous and everyone's spirit is free from worry. As a consequence, many good works have appeared like bamboo shoots after a spring rain.

## III. "Governing by Nonaction" and Speeches of the Leaders

When people who live in a free democratic society look at the artistic ideals of "governing by nonaction" under the leadership of the CCP, they feel that this is clearly inadequate. But in terms of its social environment, this is the most that he could do. I think that if Mr Wang's ideals could be realized, CCP literature and art would certainly flourish far more than they do at present.

Wang Ruowang said: "I do not want the kind of leadership which sits on high, which is arrogant and is always instructing and correcting people in moralistic tones. What we expect from the present literature and art leadership comrades is really that they assume the tasks of 'service stations and supply stations'" and "first conscientiously carry out the provisions of guaranteeing the 'three nots' and be easy to approach, treat others as equals and respect the labor of workers. Doing this can greatly improve the relations between leadership comrades and writers and artists." This is entirely the same spirit and essence as "the party's leadership in literature and art work

"is not to order people about, nor is it to demand that what literature and art follow is the temporary, specific and direct political missions, but for literature and art, in accord with the characteristics and developmental laws of literature and art, to help literature and art flourish" which Deng Xiaoping said at the CCP's Fourth Wendaohui on 30 October 1979, so why do they say that Mr Wang's "governing by nonaction" is opposed to the CCP and the "four upholds"? If one were to say there are any differences, they are mainly that the literary and art policy formulated by the CCP leaders changes unpredictably. They once could say "This complex spiritual labor of literature and art demands in particular that writers and artists develop their individual creative spirit, what and how they write can only be determined by the writer and artist by searching and gradually striving for success in artistic practice. In this regard, we should not willfully interfere." But later they could also issue CCP Central Committee documents with numbers (such as the 81-7 and 30 documents), or a speech concerning a writer or work given by a leader would close in and suppress it entirely, such as the decree on criticism of "Bitter Love" which was passed down from "Talk on Questions on the Ideological Front" of Deng Xiaoping in July 1981 and Yu Yaobang in August 1981. In addition specific directives are made in the process of criticism: Deng Xiaoping said, "Today we have reached agreement on criticism of 'Bitter Love': JIEFANG RIBAO no longer needs to criticize it, but WENYIBAO should write a high quality article criticizing 'Bitter Love' and when it is finished publish it in WENYIBAO, then it will be reprinted in RENMIN RIBAO." Later on these steps were carried out in this way. At this time, the statement that "In all periods when literature and art have flourished, it has not happened by relying on careful intervention and orders from state leadership organs." This was said in "Nonaction," actually it is very thought provoking. If you look at the history of CCP literature and art over the last 30 or more years, every time the CCP leaders implement "governing by nonaction," literature and art advance, develop and flourish; as soon as the CCP leadership willfully interferes and carries out some criticism, literature and art retreat, shrivel up and die. For example, in the few years after the gang of four came to power in the spring of 1956, when the CCP relaxed its control of literature and art, moving works were produced one after another. But later on, once they began the anti-rightist campaigns, the sad scene of "a vast sterile expanse" appeared in literature. Once one speaks of social results, and again criticizes "bourgeois liberalization" a "wilting of the flowers" will appear again. If the CCP does not turn around its attitude of interfering in literature and art, I really cannot see any hope for literature and art.

From "Governing by Nonaction" to Zhao Dan's "Last Will and Testament"

The views expressed by Wang Ruowang in "Nonaction," in actuality represented the thinking of missions of writers and artists, literature and art lovers and those concerned with China's literature and art. If one were to do a public opinion poll, I think that except for those who are concerned about "literature and art kongjuzheng [1858 2040 4017]," over 90 percent of the people would support them. Are the people who support these views people the CCP says have "ulterior motives"? I do not think this is the case at all. Zhao Dan, the famous actor and patriot, known to everyone, was the greatest supporter and advocate of the literary and artistic ideal of "governing by

"nonaction." In his essay, Wang Ruowang constantly bore in mind party leadership and the "four upholds." We have already discussed his views on party leadership above, but with regard to the "four upholds" he said: "Should literary and artistic leadership maintain reviews? I think that reviews under a liberalized system are necessary. Yet there are really only two review standards: One is to uphold the four basic principles and the other is to uphold the dual hundred principles and that is all." But Zhao Dan simply ignores the former and thinks that the CCP literary and artistic leadership is proper or is only "unflinchingly carrying out the 'dual hundred' principle." He says the CCP "probably does not need to tell how to farm, or how to sit down, or how to put on one's pants, or how to cook, and it probably does not need to tell writers how to write and performers how to perform." Then he says categorically, "literature and art are the business of writers and artists and if the party's governance of literature and art is too specific, then there is no hope for literature and art and they are finished." This is the most powerful protest against those who, relying on the power in their hands and with murder in their eyes, say "What's to fear in covertly banning a play? I can even ban a play openly," (a remark by Wang Renzhong [3769 0117 6850] in "Talk on Questions on the Ideological Front." The CCP leaders wanted to criticize Zhao Dan all along, but they were afraid of provoking a public outcry, so they took the knife of Wang Ruowang and made him the scapegoat. The weakening of a nation's political authority in such a way is rarely seen in history. When I saw the RED FLAG criticizing the "Nonaction" article, I had to think of Zhao Dan's last will and testament. If Zhao Dan, in heaven, saw this essay which turns right and wrong upside down, he would certainly grow angry, slap the table and soundly curse these trampers of the flowers of literature and art.

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[First cartoon caption "Snowman" [drawn by Ding Yuanping [002 0626 1627], originally published in SATIRE AND HUMOR--words on snowman "Works Which Are Exalted"]

[Second cartoon caption "Echo" [Drawn by Zhan Tong [6124 0681], originally published in WENYI YANJIU--top: "'This work is good.'"--echoes of "Good! Good! Good!" etc. bottom: "'This work is bad.'"--echoes of "Bad! Bad! Bad! Bad!" etc.]

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